

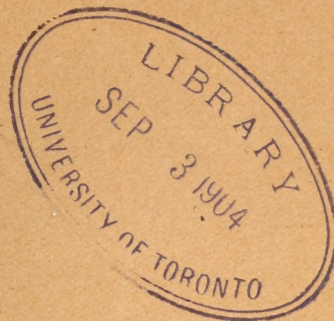
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# LIST OF BOOKS

(WITH REFERENCES TO PERIODICALS)

RELATING TO

## PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

COMPILED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

A. P. C. GRIFFIN

CHIEF BIBLIOGRAPHER

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## INTRODUCTION

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This List represents the contents of the Library on the subject of proportional representation. It includes also some titles on direct legislation and apportionment as related subjects. It does not embrace in its scope the initiative or referendum.

The first systematic discussion of minority or proportional representation is said to be Gilpin's, "On the representation of minorities," first issued at Philadelphia in 1844. It was written to apply to the government of the city of Philadelphia. The scheme advanced by Gilpin is regarded as identical with the *Libre Liste*, or ticket vote, advocated by Naville in Geneva in 1871 and now used in some of the Swiss cantons.

In 1859 Thomas Hare published "The election of representatives, parliamentary and municipal," in which he elaborated a system of proportionate representation known as the "Single transferable vote." This system was indorsed by John Stuart Mill in his "Considerations on representative government," which he declares to be "among the greatest improvements yet made in the theory and practice of government."

In 1869 Senator Buckalew proposed a plan of cumulative voting as a part of a reconstruction scheme for suffrage in the South. The report of the committee favoring his proposition, together with his speeches on the subject and other illustrative material, were published in a volume described on page 8 of this list.

Dutcher's "Minority or proportional representation," New York, 1872, is a record of the movements toward proportional representation in Great Britain and the United States, including an account of experimental legislation in various States.

Forney's "Political reform by the representation of minorities," New York, 1894, is an argument for what is called the Burnitz system. A translation of Burnitz's exposition of his system is printed in Forney's work, pages 159-174.

John R. Commons's "Proportional representation," New York, 1896, passes in review the various systems of proportional representation, giving also a résumé of the progress of the cause in different countries.

It is a good statement of the history and development of the proposed reform in representation up to the date of its publication. The Belgian system had not been put into effect at that time.

A scheme of proportional representation was introduced in Switzerland in 1891 in the Canton of Ticino, and since that time has been adopted by several other cantons. Naville is one of the principal promoters of the cause in Switzerland. A full account of proportional representation in Switzerland is given in Klöti's "*Die Proportionalwahl in der Schweiz*," Bern, 1901. For accounts in English there are brief statements in McCrackan's "*Swiss solutions of American problems*," Boston, 1894; Vincent's "*Government in Switzerland*," London, 1898. The subject also enters largely into the article by Prof. Louis Wuarin, of the University of Geneva, entitled "*Recent political experiments in the Swiss democracy*," printed in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, volume 6, November, 1895, pages 361-380.

In December, 1899, a system of proportional representation was adopted by Belgium. The text of the act providing for proportional representation is printed with some notes by P. Wauwermans in "*Annuaire de législation étrangère publié par la Société de législation comparée*," volume 29, pages 463-471, also in Duthoit's "*Le suffrage de demain*," Paris, 1901, and in the "*Revue de droit public et de la science politique*," volume 14, November-December, 1900, pages 385-424. A history of the movement in Belgium is given by Goblet d'Alviella in "*La représentation proportionnelle en Belgique*," Bruxelles et Paris, 1900. The system adopted in Belgium is known as the D'Hondt system. A tabulated statement by D'Hondt is noted on page 14 of the present list. Dupriez's "*L'organisation du suffrage universel en Belgique*," Paris, 1901, contains a bibliography of the movement in Belgium. Other treatises by Belgian writers are Aelvoet's "*La représentation proportionnelle*," Gand, 1900; Bidder and Somerhausen's "*Élections législatives; application de la représentation proportionnelle*," Bruxelles, 1900; Cameau's "*La représentation proportionnelle en Belgique*," Paris, 1901; Delcroix's "*Élections législatives*," Bruxelles, 1900; Dumont's "*Les élections en Belgique*" in "*Revue politique*," vol. 25, pp. 314-329; "*Les enseignements du scrutin*" in "*Revue de Belgique*," vol. 33, pp. 175-196, 303-318; Dupriez's "*L'organisation du suffrage universel en Belgique*," Paris, 1901; Duysters's "*De nieuwe kieswet*," Berchem-Antwerpen, 1900; Fromes's "*Manuel pratique pour les élections législatives*," Bruxelles, 1900; Jacquart's "*Statistique électorale*," Bruxelles, 1900; Nerinx's "*Le suffrage universel, le vote pluriel et la représentation proportionnelle*," Bruxelles, 1900; Van der Smissen's "*La représentation proportionnelle en Belgique et les élections générales de mai 1900*," in "*Annales des sciences politiques*," volume 15; and Vanlaar's "*Le*



mécanisme de la représentation proportionnelle dans le nouveau système électoral belge," in "Revue politique et parlementaire," volume 25.

In the "Revue de Belgique," April 15, 1904, pp. 308-332, V. Van de Walle gives a statistical survey of elections in Belgium under the act of 1900, in which he points out defects and proposes a "*formule*" for their correction.

The periodical called "La représentation proportionnelle" has been published since 1883 in Brussels, in the interests of the D'Hondt system. A summary description of "The Belgian system of proportional representation" is given by Robert Tyson in the "Arena" for December, 1903. A fuller exposition is given by Mahaim, under the title "Proportional representation and the debates upon the electoral question in Belgium," printed in the "Annals of the American academy of political and social science," volume 15, May, 1900, pages 381-404.

In 1893 the American proportional representation league began the publication of the "Proportional Representation Review," devoted to the advancement of the cause in this country; which is still issued.

There is a society in France for the study of proportional representation which published a collection of material on the subject, including accounts of debates in various parliaments, which is described on page 19 of this list.

For a general survey of the movement for proportional representation up to 1899, the work by Saripolos, "La démocratie et l'élection proportionnelle," Paris, 1899, is regarded by good authority as of the first importance.

The application of proportional representation in municipal elections is discussed in Conkling's "City government in the United States," New York, 1899; Parson's "The city for the people; or, the Municipalization of the city government and of local franchises," Philadelphia, 1901; Wilcox's "The study of city government," New York, 1897; and L. F. C. Garvin's article "How to effect municipal reform," in the "Arena," vol. 10, September, 1894.

A. P. C. GRIFFIN,  
*Chief Bibliographer.* }

HERBERT PUTNAM,  
*Librarian of Congress,*  
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 24, 1904.





## A LIST OF BOOKS ON PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

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**Aelvoet**, Arthur. La représentation proportionnelle; notes sommaires et pratiques à l'usage de tous les électeurs; avec tableaux synoptiques à l'usage des présidents et des témoins de bureaux électoraux.

*Gand: A. Siffer, 1900. 23, (1) pp. 8°.*

**Amabile**, Giuseppe. La proporzionalità nella rappresentanza politica e il sistema dell'urna multipla.

*Napoli: E. Marghieri, 1901. (8), 207 pp. Tables (partly folded). 8°. (On cover: Biblioteca delle scienze giuridiche e sociali, vol. xc.)*

**Ashworth**, T. R. Proportional representation applied to party government; a new electoral system, by T. R. Ashworth and H. P. C. Ashworth.

*London: S. Sonnenschein & co., lim., 1901. viii, 222, (2) pp. 8°.*

**Bagehot**, Walter. The English constitution, and other political essays. Latest rev. ed.

*New York: D. Appleton & co., 1877. 6, vii-viii, 468 pp. 12°.*

"The scheme of Mr. Hare," pp. 216 *et seq.*

**Barnes**, William H. History of the thirty-ninth Congress of the United States.

*New York: Harper & brothers, 1868. 636 pp. Portraits. 8°.*

"The basis of representation in the House," pp. 324-416.

"Representation of the Southern states," pp. 417-433.

**Berry**, John M. Proportional representation. The Gove system. Notes on the inequality and injustice of existing methods of electing representatives of the people, with the true remedy.

*Worcester, Mass., 1892. 32 pp. 8°.*

Cover-title.

Appendices: I. Voting statistics, pp. 19-23; II. The Gove bill: legislative representation, pp. 24-28; III. The Gove bill: municipal representation, pp. 29-32.

**Biddaer, Pierre and Émile Somerhausen.** Élections législatives; application de la représentation proportionnelle; commentaire des lois électorales coordonnées des 28 juin 1894, 11 juin 1896, 31 mars 1898 et 29 décembre 1899, contenant les titres iv à xi du code électoral; par les rédacteurs de la Revue communale de Belgique.

*Bruxelles: S. Janssens, 1900. 195 pp. Illustrations. 4°.*

**Bonnefoy, Gaston.** La représentation proportionnelle.

*Paris: Marchal & Billard, 1902. (4), 715 pp. Diagrams (partly folded). 8°. (Faculté de droit de l'Université de Paris.)*

"Bibliographie," pp. 684-701.

**Brown, William Jethro.** The new democracy. A political study.

*London: Macmillan and co., 1899. xii, 215 pp. 8°.*

"The Hare system, with special reference to its application in Tasmania," pp. 32-67.

**Buckalew, Charles R.** Proportional representation, or, The representation of successive majorities in federal, state, municipal, corporate and primary elections. With an appendix. Edited by John G. Freeze.

*Philadelphia: J. Campbell & son, 1872. xvi, 300 pp. 8°.*

"Senator Buckalew was a member of the Senate committee which reported in favor of the cumulative vote in the 'reconstruction' of the Southern States. The committee's report is given in this book. The original is 'Report of the Select Committee of the U. S. Senate on Representative Reform,' Senate document, 40th Congress, 3d session, No. 271, March 2, 1869." *Commons, J. R.*

\* \* \* \* \*

CONTENTS: Editor's preface: Preliminary remarks on proportional representation; Speech in the Senate, July 11, 1867; Philadelphia speech, November 19, 1867; Senate report, March 2, 1869, on a bill to amend the representation of the people in Congress; Address before the Social science association, Philadelphia, October 25, 1870; Speech in the Senate of Pennsylvania, March 27, 1871, on an act for the regulation of boroughs; Letter to Francis Jordan, November 30, 1871; Speech in the Senate, February 17, 1869, on the choice of presidential electors, with an essay on the electoral colleges, by John H. Wheeler; Constitutional amendment in Illinois; West Virginia amendments; Pennsylvania statutes for reformed voting; Local elections in Pennsylvania under reformed voting; Nominations to office; Observations on the Columbia County rules of nomination; Appendix: Proceedings and debate in Parliament upon limited voting in three-numbered districts; An essay on minority representation; Index.

**Burke, Edmund.** Letter to the Chairman of the Buckinghamshire meeting, held on the 13th April, 1780, at Aylesbury.

*(In his Works, vol. 5, pp. 232-236. Boston, 1839. 8°.)*

"On the duration of parliaments, and a more equal representation of the people."



**Burke**, Edmund. Observations on the conduct of the minority, in a letter addressed to the Duke of Portland and Lord Fitzwilliam.

(*In his Works*, vol. 4, pp. 143-193. Boston, 1839. 8°.)

"Individual representation," p. 183.

——— Speech. On the reform of the representation in the House Commons.

(*In his Works*, vol. 5, pp. 402-413. Boston, 1839. 8°.)

**Burnitz**, Gustav and George **Varrentrap**. A method of assuring to the minorities as well as to the majority, at all kinds of elections, the number of representatives corresponding to their strength. Translated by Frank Weitenkampf.

(*In Forney*, Matthias N. Political reform by the representation of minorities, pp. 159-174. New York, 1894. 8°.)

**Cameau**, Paul. La représentation proportionnelle en Belgique.

*Paris: A. Rousseau, 1901. (2), [vii]-xii, 246 pp. 8°. (Université de Caen.—Faculté de droit.)*

"Bibliographie," pp. [vii]-xii.

**Commons**, John Rogers. Proportional representation. A remedy for gerrymandering.

(*In American academy of political and social science. Annals*, vol. 2, pp. 700-707. Philadelphia, 1891-92. 8°.)

——— Proportional representation.

*New York: T. Y. Crowell & co., [1896]. (8), 298 pp. 12°.*

(*Library of economics and politics*, no. 8.)

——— Proportional representation.

*Publishers: Appeal to reason, Girard, Kansas, 1902. 38 pp. 12°.*

Cover-title.

——— Representative democracy.

*New York: Bureau of economic research, [1900]. 100 pp. 12°.*

"This little pamphlet brings together the main arguments for direct legislation and proportional representation. The chief aim of the work, perhaps, is to show the importance of minority parties in different sections of the country, of proportional representation as a means to united action without fusion."

——— Social reform and the church. With an introduction by Richard T. Ely.

*New York: T. Y. Crowell & company, [1894]. x, 176 pp. 16°.*

"Proportional representation," pp. 153-176.

**Conkling**, Alfred Ronald. City government in the United States: with a chapter on the Greater New York charter of 1897. 4th ed., rev.

*New York: D. Appleton & co., 1899. xvi, 245 pp. 12°.*

List of authorities, p. xv.

"Proportional representation," pp. 49, 209-210.

**Courtney**, Leonard Henry. Proportional representation. Speech in the House of Commons, December 4, 1884.

(*In* Hansard's Parliamentary debates, 3d series, vol. 294, pp. 659-679. London, 1885. 8°.)

—— The working constitution of the United Kingdom.

*New York, London: The Macmillan co., 1901. viii, 383 pp. 8°.*

"Proportional representation," pp. 21, 172-178.

**Crocker**, Samuel. Our next republic.

*Caldwell, Kansas: Published by the author, 1887. 168 pp. Frontispiece (portrait). 16°.*

Includes an advocacy of proportional representation.

**Delcroix**, Alfred. Élections législatives; commentaire de la loi du 29 décembre 1899 (représentation proportionnelle).

*Bruxelles: E. Guyot, 1900. 98 pp. 8°.*

—— Élections législatives; commentaire des lois des 28 juin 1894-11 juin 1896 et 29 décembre 1899. 2. éd.

*Bruxelles: E. Guyot, 1900. 331 pp. Tables. 8°.*

—— Recueil des lois électorales belges coordonnées et annotées.

*Bruxelles: E. Guyot, 1900. 149, (2) pp. Folded sheets. 8°.*

**Dillon**, John F. Report on the constitutionality in New York of a system providing for "minority representation" or "minority voting."

(*In* Forney, Matthias N. Proportional representation, pp. 53-56. New York, 1900. 24°.)

**Direct legislation record.** A non-partisan advocate of pure democracy. vol. 1-7.

*New York, 1894-95; Newark, N. J., 1895-1900. 7 vols. in 1. Portraits. 8°.*

From 1896 official organ of the National direct legislation league; from 1898 also official organ of the Canadian direct legislation league.

**Dumont**, Hermann. Les élections en Belgique.

(*In* Revue politique et parlementaire, vol. 25, Aug. 10, 1900, pp. 314-329.)

**Dupriez**, Léon. L'organisation du suffrage universel en Belgique.

Vote plural, vote obligatoire, représentation proportionnelle.

*Paris: L. Larose, 1901. viii, 264 pp. 12°.*

"Bibliographie," pp. 253-262.

—— La représentation proportionnelle en Belgique.

(*In* Revue du droit public et de la science politique, vol. 14, Nov.-Dec., 1900, pp. 385-435.)

Includes a bibliography and the Belgian law on the subject.



**Dutcher**, Salem. Minority or proportional representation; its nature, aims, history, processes, and practical operation.

*New York: United States publishing company, 1872. 165 pp. 8°.*

**Duthoit**, Eugène. Le suffrage de demain; régime électoral d'une démocratie organisée.

*Paris: Perrin et cie., 1901. (2), 263, (2) pp. 12°.*

The "Documents annexes" include: Annexe C.—L'introduction de la représentation proportionnelle en Belgique, pp. 210-238; Annexe D.—Texte de la loi Belge sur la représentation proportionnelle du 29 décembre 1899, pp. 239-250.

**Duysters**, Edmond. De nieuwe kieswet. Uitleg der wet, betreffende de toepassing der evenredige vertegenwoordiging op de verkiezingen voor de wetgevende kamers, en verschenen in het Staatsblad van 30 december 1899. 2. uitg., merkelyk vermeerderd.

*Berchem-Antwerpen: F. Mattheus Hendrickx, 1900. 54 pp. Table. 8°.*

**Eaton**, Dorman B. The government of municipalities.

*New York: The Macmillan company, 1899. x, 498, 14, 14 pp. 8°.*

"Concerning free nominations and free voting; minority representation," pp. 209-245. Appendix: "The neglected need of minority representation." See also pp. 260-261, 326.

**Einhauser**, Rudolph. Proportionalwahl.

(*In Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, vol. 54, pp. 720-729. Tübingen, 1898. 8°.)

**Fawcett**, Millicent Garrett. Proportional representation and Hare's scheme explained.

(*In Fawcett, Henry and Millicent Garrett Fawcett. Essays and lectures*, pp. 336-368. London, 1872. 8°.)

**Field**, David Dudley. Representation of minorities.

(*In American social science association. Journal*, vol. 3, 1871, pp. 133-147.)

**Fisher**, Joshua Francis. The degradation of our representative system and its reform.

*Philadelphia: C. Sherman, son & co., printers, 1863. 47 pp. 8°.*

**Fleming**, Sanford. An appeal to the Canadian Institute on [electoral representation and] the ratification of Parliament.

*Toronto: The Copp, Clark company, 1892. 176 pp. 8°.*

"The appendix contains several pages of extracts, expressing the deliberate opinion of well known public writers, which are worthy of careful perusal. They indicate the tone of thought of minds differently constituted in our own country, in Great

Britain, in the United States and other countries. There are excerpts from the following: 1. A new plan of minority representation by J. R. Commons. 2. Proportional representation—The Gove system, etc. 3. Résumé of Hare's work on the representation of minorities—especially prepared for the present publication. 4. Translation and abridgement of the constitution and electoral law of Denmark—also especially prepared."

**Forney, Matthias N.** Political reform by the representation of minorities.

*New York: Published by the author, 1894. (4), 199 pp. 8°.*

"Favors Burnitz system, similar to 'Preponderance of choice.' Contains extensive bibliography, also references to magazine articles."

——— Proportional representation; a means for the improvement of municipal government; with reports on the constitutionality in New York of a system providing for minority representation, by J. F. Dillon and S. Sterne.

*New York: E. W. Johnson, 1900. (2), iii, 3-61 pp. Tables. 24°.*

**Foulke, William Dudley.** Proportional representation and municipal reform.

(*In* National municipal league. Proceedings of the Indianapolis conference for good city government, [etc.], pp. 135-142. Philadelphia, 1898. 8°.)

——— Representation of different city interests in the council.

(*In* National municipal league. Proceedings of the Milwaukee conference for good city government, [etc.], pp. 147-156. Philadelphia, 1900. 8°.)

**François, Charles.** La représentation des intérêts dans les corps élus.

*Paris, A. Rousseau; Lyon, A. Rey, 1899. xix, 363 pp. 4°.*  
(*Lyons Université. Annales. Nouv. sér.; II, Droit, lettres; fasc. 2.*)

"Bibliographie," pp. 355-359.

**Fromes, Armand.** Manuel pratique pour les élections législatives, renfermant un exposé complet des opérations électorales dans l'ordre chronologique . . . et des tableaux synoptiques. 3. éd.

*Bruxelles: Veuve F. Larcier, 1900. 190 pp. 8°.*

**Gilpin, Thomas.** On the representation of minorities of electors to act with the majority, in elected assemblies.

*Philadelphia: J. C. Clark, printer, 1844. (2), 15 pp. 8°.*

(Reprinted in American academy of political and social science. Annals, vol. 7, pp. 238-252. Philadelphia, 1896. 8°. With an introduction by E. J. James.)



"This paper is remarkable as being one of the earliest systematic discussions of the plan now known as Minority, or Proportional Representation. The paper antedates Thomas Hare's earliest essays on the subject of Minority Representation by thirteen years; and that of James Garth Marshall by almost ten years."

**Goblet d'Alviella**, Eugène, *comte*. La première expérience de la représentation proportionnelle intégrale.

(In *Revue de Belgique*, 2<sup>e</sup> sér., t. 29, July 15, 1900, pp. 187-214.)

——— La représentation proportionnelle à la constituante.

(In *Revue de Belgique*, 2<sup>e</sup> sér., t. 28, March 15, 1900, pp. 201-223.)

——— La représentation proportionnelle et le projet de Smet.

(In *Revue de Belgique*, 2<sup>e</sup> sér., t. 29, June 15, 1900, pp. 97-117.)

——— La représentation proportionnelle et le régime parlementaire.

(In *Revue des deux mondes*, vol. 157, Jan., 1900, pp. 37-65.)

——— La représentation proportionnelle en Belgique. Histoire d'une réforme.

*Bruxelles: P. Weissenbruch, 1900. xi + 11, 175 pp. 8°.*

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*New York: The Macmillan company, 1897. xiii, (1), 321 pp. 12°.*

"Universal suffrage," pp. 145-192.

**Great Britain**. *House of Lords*. Report from the Select committee of the House of Lords on the elective franchise in counties and boroughs. Ordered, to be printed, 16 July 1860. xviii, 617 pp. F°.

(In Great Britain. Parliament. Sessional papers, 1860, vol. 12.)

The testimony of certain witnesses touched upon the question of proportional representation.

**Grey**, Henry G., *3d earl*. Parliamentary government considered with reference to a reform of Parliament. An essay.

*London: Richard Bentley, 1858. xii, 219 pp. 8°.*

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*London: John Murray, 1864. xxiii, (1), 360 pp. 8°.*

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*London: Longmans, 1865. xlvii, (1), 350 pp. 12°.*

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*London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1873. xlvii, (1), 380 pp. 12°.*

— On the application of a new statistical method to the ascertainment of the votes of majorities in a more exhaustive manner.

(*In Royal statistical society. Journal, vol. 23, September, 1860, pp. 337-356.*)

**Hondt, Victor d'.** Tables de division des nombres 1 à 400 par 1 à 31 et 401 à 1000 par 1 à 13 pour la répartition proportionnelle des sièges en matière électorale avec exposé de la méthode. *Gand: A. Siffer, 1900. 16 pp., 70 l. 24°.*

**Horton, S. Dana.** Proportional representation.

(*In Penn monthly, vol. 4, June, 1873, pp. 364-398.*)

**Jacquart, Camille.** Statistique électorale. I. La représentation proportionnelle des partis politiques. II. Les scrutins pour la chambre de 1894 à 1900.

*Bruxelles: O. Schepens & cie., 1900. 16 pp. Tables. 8°.*

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(*In American academy of political and social science. Annals, vol. 7, pp. 233-252. Philadelphia, 1896. 8°.*)

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— The first apportionment of federal representatives in the United States.

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(*In American academy of political and social science. Annals, vol. 6, pp. 381-396. Philadelphia, 1895. 8°.*)

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*Bern: Schmid & Francke, 1901. vii, 480 pp. 8°.*

"Litteratur," pp. 472-478.

Separatabdruck aus der "Zeitschrift für schweizerische Statistik, 37. Jahrgang, 1901."



- Laffitte**, Jean-Paul. La réforme électorale. La représentation proportionnelle. Avant-propos par J. Domergue.  
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*Paris: G. Baillière, 1872. (4), 195 pp. 12°.*
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*Paris: F. Alcan, 1896. 2 vols. 8°. (Bibliothèque de philosophie contemporaine.)*  
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- Leroy-Beaulieu**, Pierre Paul. L'état moderne et ses fonctions. 3. éd. rev. et augmentée.  
*Paris: Guillaumin & cie., 1900. xii, 487 pp. 8°.*
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*London: S. Sonnenschein & co., 1891. (4), 215 pp. 12°.*  
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*London: Trübner & co., 1868. 24 pp. 8°.*
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 Favors the single transferable vote. Author is President of the English Proportional Representation society.
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*(In Fleming, Sandford. An appeal to the Canadian institute on the ratification of Parliament, pp. 41-49. Toronto, 1892. 8°.)*
- McCrackan**, W. D. Proportional representation.  
*(In Bliss, W. D. P. ed. The encyclopedia of social reform, pp. 1123-1127. New York, 1897. 8°.)*

**Mahaim, Ernest.** Proportional representation and the debates upon the electoral question in Belgium.

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# AUTHOR INDEX.

	Page.		Page.
Aelvoet, Arthur .....	7	Eaton, Dorman B. ....	11
Amabile, Giuseppe .....	7	Einhauser, Rudolph .....	11
Archaga, J. J. de .....	19	Ely, Richard T. ....	9
Arnauné, Auguste .....	19	Fawcett, Millicent Garrett .....	11, 23
Arnold-Forster, H. O. ....	24	Field, David Dudley .....	11
Ashley, James M. ....	26	Fisher, Joshua Francis .....	11
Ashworth, H. P. C. ....	7	Fleming, Sandford .....	11
Ashworth, T. R. ....	7	Forney, Matthias N. ....	12, 27
Aubry-Vitel, Eugène .....	23	Foulke, William Dudley .....	12, 26
Bagehot, Walter .....	7	François, Charles .....	12
Barnes, William H. ....	7	Freeze, John G., <i>ed.</i> .....	8
Béchaux, A .....	28	Fromes, Armand .....	12
Benoist, Charles .....	26	Gilpin, Thomas .....	12, 14, 24
Berry, John M .....	7	Goblet d'Alviella, Eugène, <i>comte</i> .....	13, 27
Biddaer, Pierre .....	8	Goodnow, Frank J .....	13
Bonnefoy, Gaston .....	8	Great Britain. <i>House of Lords.</i> .....	13
Botton, Max .....	19	Grey, Albert .....	25
Brown, William Jethro .....	8	Grey, Henry, <i>3d earl.</i> .....	13
Bruwaert, ——— .....	19	Hare, Thomas .....	13-14, 22, 23, 24, 25
Buckalew, Charles R. ....	8	Hayward, Robert B. ....	24
Burke, Edmund .....	8, 9	Hondt, Victor d' .....	14
Burnitz, Gustav .....	9	Horton, S. Dana .....	14, 24
Cairns, Hugh M'Calmont, <i>Lord</i> .....	20	Jacquart, Camille .....	14
Cameau, Paul .....	9	James, Edmund J. ....	12, 14, 27
Combothecra, X. S .....	28	Jenks, Jeremiah W. ....	14, 26
Commons, John Rogers .....	9, 25, 26, 27	Kinnear, J. Boyd .....	23
Conkling, Alfred Ronald .....	9	Klöti, Emil .....	14
Cooley, Stoughton .....	25, 26	Knatchbull-Hugessen, E. H. ....	24
Courtney, Leonard Henry .....	10, 24, 25	Laffitte, Jean Paul .....	15
Crocker, Samuel .....	10	Laneyrie, G. ....	19
Croly, David G. ....	23	Laveleye, Émile Louis Victor, <i>baron</i> .....	
Daguin, Fernand .....	19	de .....	15
Daresté, Pierre .....	19	Lebon, André .....	19
Delcroix, Alfred .....	10	Lefevre, G. Shaw .....	25
Dillon, John F. ....	10, 12	Lefèvre-Pontalis, Germain Anto-	
Domergue, J .....	15	nin .....	15
Droop, H. R .....	24	Leroy-Beaulieu, Pierre Paul .....	15
Dumont, Hermann .....	10	London. <i>Reform league.</i> .....	15
Dupriez, Léon .....	10	Lowe, Robert .....	20
Dutcher, Salem .....	11	Lubbock, Sir John .....	15, 24, 25
Duthoit, Eugène .....	11	Lytton, Robert .....	15
Duysters, Edmond .....	11	McCrackan, W. D .....	15, 25, 26



	Page.		Page.
Macquart, Émile .....	27	Somerhausen, Émile .....	8
Mahaim, Ernest .....	16, 27	Spence, Catherine H. ....	26
Mason, Alfred B. ....	24	Stanwood, Edward .....	23
Mauranges, Maxime .....	16	Stephen, Leslie .....	24
Mead, Edwin D. ....	16	Sterne, Simon .....	12, 19-20, 23
Meyer, Ernst Christopher .....	16	Stetson, Simeon .....	20
Meyer, Georg .....	16	Sullivan, J. W. ....	20
Mill, John Stuart .....	16, 20, 22	Syme, David .....	20
Mommaert, Jean .....	17, 27	Theodor, Léon .....	20
Mulford, Elisha .....	17	Trevelyan, G. O. ....	22
National municipal league .....	17	Turner, A. J. ....	20
Naville, Ernest .....	17	Turquan, Victor .....	19
Neil, S. ....	25	Tyson, Robert .....	28
Nerinx, Alfred .....	17	United States. <i>40th Congress, 3d</i>	
Olivier, Louis .....	17-18	<i>session</i> .....	20
Ourem, Baron d' .....	19	Van der Smissen, Edouard .....	20
Parsons, Frank .....	18	Vanlaar, Maurice .....	20
Pomeroy, Eltweed .....	27, 28	Varrentrap, George .....	9
Praed, Winthrop M. ....	20	Vauthier, Louis Léger .....	21
Pyfferoen, Oscar .....	18	Vere, Aubrey de .....	25
Quincy, Josiah Phillips .....	18	Vernes, Maurice .....	19
Remsen, Daniel S. ....	18	Villey-Desmeserets, Edmond Louis	21
Renard, Georges .....	28	Ware, William R. ....	21, 23
Roguin, Ernest .....	19	Weitenkampf, Frank, <i>tr</i> .....	9
Saleilles, R. ....	27	Westlake, John .....	24, 25
Saripolos, N. ....	19	Wheeler, John H. ....	8, 20
Sarraute, P. ....	19	Whitney, J. Eugene .....	26
Seebohm, Frederic .....	24	Wilcox, Delos F. ....	21
Séverin de La Chapelle [ <i>pseud</i> ].		Wilson, Edward .....	23
<i>See</i> Olivier, Louis.		Wuarin, Louis .....	26
Smith, J. Parker .....	24		











